

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 COME-00 /080 W
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O R 230610Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1479

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 22

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SUMMARY: ALL PARTIES APPEAR TO HAVE ACCEPTED THAT IDEA OF
A COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS DEAD. WORK IS
PROCEEDING IN INFORMAL GROUPS ON BASIS OF A SHORT DOCUMENT.
OUTSTANDING QUESTION IS WHETHER SUCH A DOCUMENT CAN OR
SHOULD HAVE ANY SUBSTANCE AT ALL. ALLIES HAVE PREPARED
A BRIEF DRAFT WHICH WE WILL USE AS OUR STANDARD IN
SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BUT DO NOT PLAN TO PUT FORWARD

OURSELVES. NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA), WITH WHOM WE ARE IN TOUCH, ARE WORKING ON THEIR OWN VERSION AND WILL PROBABLY CIRCULATE IT INFORMALLY FEBRUARY 23. IT IS LIKELY TO INCLUDE SOME ADDITIONAL POINTS -- MORE EXPERTS MEETINGS, MORE GENERAL POLITICAL LANGUAGE, ETC. -- TO MEET DISPARATE NEEDS OF NNA CAUCUS. SOVIETS APPEAR TO FAVOR QUICK AGREEMENT ON MINIMUM TEXT. PACE SHOULD SPEED UP CONSIDERABLY IN NEXT FEW DAYS, AND FOCUS OF NEGOTIATION WILL BE FAIRLY NARROW. PROBLEM WILL BE TO FIND A WAY TO AVOID FALLING INTO "OPTION THREE", AN APPARENTLY SUBSTANTIVE AND POLITICALLY MEANINGFUL DOCUMENT THAT DOES NOT CONTAIN ALLIED REQUIREMENTS, ESPECIALLY HUMAN RIGHTS, WHILE WINNING CONSENSUS OF SMALLER COUNTRIES SUCH AS ROMANIA, MALTA, AND YUGOSLAVIA WHICH HAVE PUT DOWN MARKERS THAT THEY WANT MORE THAN "WE MET AND WE WILL MEET AGAIN" FORMULA. END SUMMARY.

1. NNA CAUCUS HAS DECIDED TO GO THE SWISS ROUTE; THAT IS, IT HAS DECIDED NOT TO TABLE FORMALLY AND MAKE A STAND UPON ITS FEBRUARY 1 INITIATIVE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BUT RATHER TO ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE A SHORT, MAINLY FACTUAL TEXT. ONE OF KEY FACTORS IN THIS DECISION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN A BREZHNEV REJECTION OF TITO'S REQUEST THAT SOVIETS SHOW MORE FLEXIBILITY, WHICH APPARENTLY CONVINCED YUGOSLAVS THAT A MAJOR DOCUMENT IS SIMPLY UNOBTAINABLE. NNA BEGAN DRAFTING EVENING OF FEBRUARY 21 BUT FOUND GOING DIFFICULT. THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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GROUP CONTAINS HIGHLY DISPARATE ELEMENTS. A FEW DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING AUSTRIANS, PREFER A PURELY FACTUAL, VERY SHORT DOCUMENT. OTHERS WISH TO TRY TO SALVAGE AT LEAST ONE OR TWO POINTS OF SPECIAL POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THEM. MALTESE ARE INSISTING THAT THEY WILL NOT GIVE CONSENSUS TO ANY DOCUMENT THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE APPROPRIATE TREATMENT OF MEDITERRANEAN (THOUGH IN PRIVATE THEY SEEM TO BE MODIFYING THEIR DEMAND FOR A PERMANENT POLITICAL COMMITTEE). YUGOSLAVS INSIST THAT AS HOSTS THEY MUST HAVE SOME POLITICAL SUBSTANCE TO SAVE FACE. THEY APPEAR MOST INTERESTED IN SOMETHING IN MILITARY AREA, EITHER A CBMS EXPERTS MEETING OR A PARAGRAPH ON DISARMAMENT. WE HEARD REPORTS DURING DAY THAT DRAFT HAS FLUCTUATED BETWEEN THREE AND SIX PAGES. APPARENTLY NNA HAVE AT LAST REACHED INTERNAL AGREEMENT SINCE LATEST WORD THIS EVENING WAS THAT THEY EXPECT TO CIRCULATE PAPER INFORMALLY FEBRUARY 23.

2. NATO CAUCUS ALSO CONCENTRATED ON SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. WE ARE TRANSMITTING BY SEPTTEL TEXT OF DRAFT APPROVED BY AMBASSADORS EVENING OF FEBRUARY 22. DANISH AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO COMMUNICATE CONCEPTS IN IT TO NNA BUT NOT TO PASS OVER FULL TEXT SINCE ALLIES

CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT NNA MUST BE SEEN TO TAKE LEAD
IN MOVING CONFERENCE TO MINIMALIST DOCUMENT. MAIN
POINT ALLIES WISH TO MAKE TO NNA, BOTH TO INFLUENCE
DRAFTING BEFORE NNA PAPER COMES OUT AND TO HELP IN
SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS, IS THAT ALLIES DO NOT BELIEVE
SHORT DOCUMENT SHOULD ATTEMPT TO BE SUBSTANTIVE SINCE WEST
COULD NOT ACCEPT AN ANODYNE DOCUMENT THAT DEALT WITH
NON-CONTROVERSIAL OR SECONDARY ISSUES BUT NOT WITH HUMAN
RIGHTS AND IMPLEMENTATION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1479

3. ORIGINAL TEXT DEVELOPED BY NATO CAUCUS DRAFTING GROUP
WAS REAL BARE BONES, COVERING IN ABOUT TWO AND A HALF
PAGES MINIMUM TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS INCLUDING BRIEF
PROTOCOL PASSAGE, RESTATMENT OF MANDATE OF MEETING,

REAFFIRMATION OF RESOLVE TO IMPLEMENT ALL PROVISIONS OF
FINAL ACT, TWO EXPERTS GROUPS ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT
AND SCIENTIFIC FORUM MANDATED BY FINAL ACT, AND DATE AND
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PLACE OF NEXT MEETING. ON URGING OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG,
ALLIED AMBASSADORS AGREED TO ADD SEVERAL SENTENCES NOTING
THAT DIVERGAENT VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION HAD BEEN EXPRESSED;
THAT THIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD ITSELF BEEN USEFUL; AND
THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO AGREE ON NEW PORPOSALS.
SEVERAL AMBASSADORS, WHILE AGREEING WITH CONCEPT,
QUESTIONED DESIRABILITY OF INCLUDING LANGUAGE IN DRAFT.
THEY POINTED OUT THAT SOVIETS ARE MOST UNLIKELY TO
ACCEPT ANYTHING THAT IMPLIED DIVERGENT VIEWS WERE
EXPRESSED MUCH LESS THAT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION COULD
SERVE USEFUL PURPOSE. BY PROPOSING SUCH LANGUAGE,
HOWEVER, ALLIES COULD OPEN DOOR TO OTHER DELEGATIONS THAT
WISHED TO SEE THEIR OWN PARTICULAR POINTS INCLUDED. CAUCUS
ULTIMATELY AGREED TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE BECAUSE, IF OBTAINABLE,
IT COULD BE REGARDED AS BACK DOOR REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS
DEBATE THAT WOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO DEMONSTRATE FROM TEXT
OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT ALLIES HAD IN FACT
ESTABLISHED PRECEDENT OF CANDID TALKING IN CSCE
REVIEW PROCESS. DANISH AMBASSADOR, WHO HAD BEEN ASKED TO
TAKE MIDDAY SOUNDINGS WITH NNA, ALSO REPORTED THAT NNA
WERE WORKING ON LANGUAGE WITH SIMILAR IMPORT.

4. WHILE WORK WAS GOING ON IN CAUCUS ROOMS, CONFERENCE'S
FORMAL SESSIONS WERE MOSTLY A MATTER OF GOING THROUGH
MOTIONS. MORNING PLENARY, DEVOTED BY PRIOR AGREEMENT TO
FOLLOW-UP, LED TO DECISION TO WRITE A SENTENCE INTO
NOTEBOOKS BUT PRODUCED NO FORWARD MOVEMENT ON KEY ISSUES
OF DATE AND STATUS OF YELLOW BOOK MODALITIES FOR MADRID
MEETING (FULLER REPORT SEPTEL). AFTERNOON PLENARY AGREED
TO NEW WORK PROGRAM OF ONE PLENARY SESSION AT 1730 FEBRUARY
23 AND ONE AT 1530 FEBRUARY 24. REDUCED SCHEDULE IS
INTENDED TO FACILITATE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WHICH ALL
DELEGATIONS UNDERSTAND WILL BE ABOUT A SHORT CONCLUDING
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DOCUMENT. SOVIETS STATED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY EXPECT
FEBRUARY 24 PLENARY TO TAKE DEFINITIVE DECISION ABOUT
SCHEDULE FOR ENDING CONFERENCE.

5. RAW MATERIAL FOR MEETING SUCH A TIMETABLE IS AT HAND,
BUT THERE REMAIN A NUMBER OF UNCERTAINTIES. ALL DELEGATIONS

ARE AGREED THAT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES SOVIETS MEAN THEIR OFT-REPEATED STATEMENT THAT THEY WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS OR TO BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS. GIVEN THIS APPARENTLY ROCK-HARD POSITION, AND CSCE CONSENSUS PROCEDURES, A LENGTHY, COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF SORT THAT ALLIES AND NNA HAVE WORKED FOR CAN NOT BE ACHIEVED. ALLIES APPEAR FIRMLY UNITED ON BELIEF THAT AN OPTION THREE DOCUMENT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED, AND AT LEAST MOST NNA SAY THEY AGREE. DOCUMENTS, HOWEVER, DO NOT COME WITH NEAT OPTION LABELS ON THEM. SOME NNA AND ROMANIANS STILL DESIRE TO PRODUCE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT GIVES FACADE OF SUBSTANTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT TO MEETING OR DEALS WITH PARTICULAR POINTS OF INDIVIDUAL IMPORTANCE. DANISH AMBASSADOR REPORTED TO NATO CAUCUS AFTER HIS SOUNDINGS THAT NNA DOCUMENT, WHILE NOT AS BAD AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED GIVEN WIDE RANGE OF VIEWS THAT NNA CAUCUS COVERS, STILL IS LIKELY TO CONTAIN MATERIAL THAT, TO ALLIED EYES, WOULD PLACE IT IN OPTION THREE CATEGORY. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WILL ALMOST SURELY INCLUDE SOMETHING LIKE A BASKET TWO EXPERS GROUP FOR MEDITERRANEAN AND SOME MILITARY MATERIAL FOR YUGOSLAVS.

6. PRIMARY SOVIET OBJECTIVE APPEARS TO BE TO END CONFERENCE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. SOVIETS THUS APPEAR READY TO GO DOWN TO MINIMUM DOCUMENT. THEY MAY BE TEMPTED, HOWEVER, TO INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT AT LEAST SOME GENERAL POLITICAL LANGUAGE ON OTHER THAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION AND LEAVE TO ALLIES BURDEN OF BEING ONES WHO AT END HAVE TO PARE DOCUMENT DOWN TO LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR BY SAYING "NO" CONFIDENTIAL

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TO YUGOSLAVS OR ROMANIANS. EVEN THEN, MAVERICKS LIKE MALTESE, WHO WARNED PLENARY TODAY THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE BOUND BY ANY DEALS WORKED OUT WITHOUT THEIR PARTICIPATION IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, CAN THROW A SPANNER INTO WORKS. GOLDBERG

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA01479
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780083-1226
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780224/aaaaauei.tel
Line Count: 265
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9d6f9ed1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3511576
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 22 CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9d6f9ed1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014